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Coattail Effect on 2019 General Election in West Java, Indonesia

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Abstract

Coattail effect is understood as the existence of synergetic effect between executive and achievement of vote in parliament, or in other words, the candidate of President and Vice President are able to affect the supporting party's voting achievement in the parliament. In the case of West Java, there is significant coattail effect because the victory of President/ Vice President candidate :Prabowo-Sandi for Gerindra in West Java Regional Legislative Council (DPRD). But this parallel victory is not followed by all cities/ municipalities' vote. There are 6 cities/ municipalities whom being championed by the President/ Vice President candidate Joko Widodo and Ma'ruf Amin, but the Regional Legislative Council are not triumphed by their supporting parties. By using library research, this article will be aimed to identify and analyze the synergetic effect caused by several factors, not just solely the figurative effect of the President/ Vice President candidates. Therefore, the writer suggests the 2019 General Election is being substituted for another simultaneously pattern, since coattail effect doesn't bring significant effects.

Keywords: coattail effect, President/ Vice President, political parties, DPRD

1. INTRODUCTION

Election often perceived as one of democracy's manifestation, Kartini (2019) cites LeDuc et al. (2010) stated that there are at least two opinions when linked election with democracy i.e; *First*, election is able to examine how far democracy has been established in smaller scope if there is a competition between parties to form a government cabinet; second, a democratic country is a country whom provides various electoral rules for the sake of political leadership succession. However, democracy will have its own value if it is able to provide welfare for its citizens, if it is not able to, democracy is only a stage for the capital's owners to seize or maintain their power with a set of rules that seems democratic (Tohari, 2013).

As a country that holds direct elections for the President / Vice President and Legislative Members, Indonesia has tried to design regulations to establish more efficient election, by organizing the 2019 simultaneous elections in accordance with the Decree of the Constitutional Court No. 14 / PUU-11/2013 concerning to Simultaneous Elections.

The Constitutional Court's decision was a product of an electoral engineering, in order to strengthen the presidential system, the original intent of the 1945 Constitution, and the effectivity and efficiency of general elections, in the context of budget, conflict management and time management. In addition, the 2019 general elections are held simultaneously in order to provide qualified election for citizen. Implicitly, Simultaneous Elections are also directed as an efforts to simplify the party system, avoiding a divided

government between the executive and legislative bodies, and encouraging the coattail effect.

This paper attempts to analyze whether the coattail effect occurs in West Java. the location was chosen as the research location since there were variations in explaining the coattail effect obtained by both candidate 01 (Jokowi-Maruf Amin) and candidate 02 (Prabowo-Sandiaga Uno) when associated with the majority vote in each City / Regency in West Java.

West Java has 27 districts / cities which for the purposes of this study are divided into 4 regions, and each region is represented by one city and one district, namely Bandung Raya district (Regency and City of Bandung), the Penyangga DIK district (Bekasi Regency and City), North Coast Area (Regency and City of Cirebon) and South Coast Area (Regency of Pangandaran and City of Banjar). The data was taken from various websites including the KPU, online media and also the results of analysis of several Government Science students who took the Party and Election System courses in Indonesia in 2019.

Based on the description above, this paper aims to answer two research questions: what is the factors which caused candidates 01 or 02 to win? What factors causes political parties to gain the most seats? These two questions will then answered whether there is a coattail effect or a synergy between the executive power (the candidate for President / Vice President) and the party supporting the candidate.

2. DISCUSSION

The 2019 simultaneous elections in Indonesia which were held for the first time, according to a study by the Institute in Australia, the Lowy Institute, were complicated and amazing elections, because they were only held in one day, namely Wednesday, April 17 2019. In West Java Province Jokowi-Ma'ruf received 10,750,568 votes, while Prabowo-Sandiaga received 16,077,446 votes. While the composition of the DPRD seats are as follows: Gerindra with 25 seats, PKS (21), PDI Perjuangan (20), Golkar (16), PKB (12), Democrat (11), PAN (7), Nasdem (4), PPP (3), Perindo (1). By looking at this data, then in West Java there has been a tail suit effect in the 2019 simultaneous election. However, if you look at the table below, not all cities / regencies are the same or linear with the provincial level, meaning that the data at the local level is more varied and of course has Variative analysis also to answer research questions.

Table 1 Votie Recapitulation of Presidential and Regional Legislative Election in West Java

No	City/Regency	Winner of Presidential Election	Winner of Legislative Election		
		Jokowi-Maruf (01)	Prabowo-Sandi (02)	Political Party	Amount of Achieved Chair
1	Bandung Regency	778.856	1.245.820	Golkar	11
2	City of Bandung	621.969	867.945	PKS	13

3	Bekasi Regency	593.424	1.046.487	Gerindra	11
4	City of Bekasi	617.185	751.461	PKS dan PDIP	12
5	Cirebo Regency	822.615	449.430	PKB	10
6	City of Cirebon	103.878	93.036	Gerindra dan PDIP	6
7	City of Banjar	63.027	55.648	Golkar	6
8	Pangandaran Regency	164.073	96.848	PDIP	15

Resources: Data is processed by Researcher form various sources: 2020

The table above shows the formal expression of voters in the four regions accommodated by the KPU which is then transformed into seats and whether there has been a change in government or not (Kartini, 2017). The data in the table will then be analyzed according to the research question.

1. Region of Greater Bandung

In this area candidate number 02 was won, but what is unique is that in Bandung Regency, the DPRD seats were won by supporting parties from number 01 candidates. For Bandung Regency, economic issues have been successfully implanted in voters, namely the high cost of basic necessities and the lack of employment, this shows that economic issues can be a means of reward-punishment in elections. The economy and elections are a means for voters to do reward-punishment, if the results of the voter's evaluation of the incumbent in the economic field are not satisfactory, then he will give punishment by not choosing the incumbent, but on the other hand, if the evaluation results are positive then he will give a reward by choosing the incumbent. back (Hellwig, 2010). The dominance of the Golkar party in the legislative elections, influenced by the background of the current Regent of Bandung Regency, H. Dadang M. Naser. In addition, the track record of the Golkar party is indeed very strong in the Bandung Regency area and it can be said that it has always dominated from election to election. Since the 2005 regional head elections, Golkar and the Obar Sobarna family have always been synonymous with executive and legislative victories at the local level. Thus there is no effect of the tail coat effect in Bandung Regency, because there is no synergy between the candidates and the supporting parties, what happens is that the local political power is getting stronger.

For the city of Bandung, PKS received the most votes because the PKS mass base in the city of Bandung was quite large. This means that the preference for choosing religious-based parties in Bandung is quite high. This is also in line with Prabowo-Sandi's vote as the presidential candidate he supports. The role of the Mayor of Bandung himself is the former chairman of the DPD from the Prosperous Justice Party in Bandung City. There is a tendency for the people of Bandung to choose the origin of the party from Oded Muhammad Danial, which they feel might be able to bring out the interests of the community itself. There is an assumption in the community that Oded is able to lead the city of Bandung and accommodate the existing issues so that this has a back effect for PKS as the origin of his party. In addition, there is also a factor of high support for candidate pair number 2, Prabowo-Sandi from the alumni votes of the 212 Alumni Association. PKS 'victory as an Islamic party cannot be separated from the majority of Bandung residents who choose parties based on religion. This is in accordance with the

sociological approach which states that social character determines political preferences (Carmines and Huckfeldt, 1996).

There are similarities that make the parties win the legislative elections in Bandung Raya, namely the political party background factors from the regional head. Bandung Regency has a Regent who comes from Golkar, while Bandung City has a Mayor and Deputy Mayor from PKS.

2. Greater Jakarta Buffering Zone (City of Bekasi and Bekasi Regency)

These two areas are located at the border between West Java and Jakarta Special Region (DKI Jakarta) Province. Many of residents in these two regions work in DKI, so every day they commute on the commuter line. Bekasi regency has a real coat tail effect, Prabowo-Sandi's win parallels the Gerindra Party victory. Coattail effect is a term that refers to an action that has an effect on other actions (side effect). By quoting from Haris (2015), Yunus (2018) states that the prospective leader who is carried has a tail-tail effect on the voting electability of the later bearing party. Because the presidential election coincides with the election of legislative members, of course the people's choice of the presidential and cawapres pairs is not far from the candidates for parliament members from the supporting parties. This of course results in synergy between the elected executive and members of the parliament in the future.

The Gerindra Party could win because it targets around 50-60% of the vote for new voters, who usually want something new. When they already know Jokowi's performance in the previous period, when they get the opportunity to become voters, then they will elect someone else for change. This was confirmed by Nunu, Chairman of the DPC Gerindra Party Bekasi Regency. He said that the characteristics of first-time voters were different from other voters because they were critical and actively seeking information about their candidates. Presidential candidate debate on defense, security, sovereignty, and strengthening the government system, as well as the importance of foreign relations. The debate was indeed very unbalanced, especially when Jokowi in matters of defense and security was very minimal, also about foreign relations which were merely ceremonial. Indeed, Jokowi has very little experience in this matter. On the other hand, Prabowo firmly explained the issue and said he would protect Pancasila and NKRI. The fourth debate shows that Prabowo is firm and comprehensive in understanding the concept of the state from the perspective of sovereignty, defense and security, international relations, and a clean and authoritative government and strong bureaucracy. Observers say that the explanation given by Prabowo is a turning point and a major shift, where when the lowest point is confidence in power, an integral concept emerges to divert votes to Prabowo.

The Bekasi regent, Neneng Hasanah, who was affected by the corruption case was also a contributor to the victory of 02 and the Gerindra party. The Golkar Party, PAN, PP, Nasdem Party, and Hanura Party (mostly Jokowi-Mar'uf coalition parties) are coalition parties that carry Neneng Hasanah Yasin, the former Regent of Bekasi Regency who was caught by the KPK after the KPK revealed the bribery case for processing the Meikarta megaproject land permit through OTT. It could be, because of this, the trust of the Bekasi Regency voters in these parties has decreased, especially the millennial community. The Meikarta case is an important note for the Bekasi Regency community because it ensnared the Regent and occurred in the Bekasi Regency area. The tail coat effect was also seen in Bekasi City, candidate 02 won as well as one of the supporting parties, namely PKS.

Although the seats obtained are the same, namely 12 seats, seen from the percentage and number of voters in the PKS legislative election, it is superior to that of PDIP. PKS won 267,330 suras (21%), while PDIP reached 240,728 (19%).

The Social Welfare Party (PKS) clearly dominates the vote. When we relate it to the sociological approach, the domination achieved by PKS is undeniably the fruit of "Islam" which is inherent in the ideology of the party itself. The politicization of religion in this case is also inevitable. Bekasi residents, the majority of whom are Muslims, who "feel" that they are bound by their religion (Islam), decided to choose PKS. This is what is called "social characteristics determine a person's political preferences". In this case, the social characteristic in question is religion and political preference in question is the decision to choose PKS. PKS 'victory in Bekasi City also shows that the preference for religious-based voters is quite high.

Meanwhile, based on a psychological approach, another factor that makes PKS superior in Bekasi is because the existence of one social activist named Hj. Ermi Yusfa. Her role which often contributes by providing social assistance and listens to community complaints has made her a figure admired by many people. Due to this reason then comes the tendency from Bekasi residents to choose the party that represents Hj. Ermi Yusfa, who feel that she might be able to bring out the interests of the community itself. Although a newcomer to the national political scene, her presence and influence has proven to be strong enough to boost PKS' number of votes in Bekasi.

The voting behavior's condition in this nation's capital's buffer zone is very accurate with Niemi's explanation of the political psychology approach, especially about issue orientation and candidate orientation, the issue of Neneng Hasnah who was affected by a corruption case directly affected the voters' choice from Bekasi regency. Likewise with the candidate orientation carried out by Hj. Erni. The political psychology approach emphasizes three variables that determine a person's choice, namely: party identification, candidate orientation and issue orientation. Party identification is a long-term factor that influencing people's choices. Issue and especially candidate orientation are short-term factors that only exist in elections (Niemi, and Weisberg, 1984)

3. Northern Coastal Region

The Ma'ruf factor, who is a cleric from Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) is the main appeal for Cirebon Regency voters, Nahdliyin residents in this Regency are the winning contributor for candidate 01. During the campaign period, Ma'ruf did the following

- Visiting and having a dialogue with the leaders of Buntet Islamic Boarding School, Cirebon
- Visiting Babakan Islamic Boarding School, Ciwaringin
- Held a meeting with PCNU Cirebon Regency
- Ma'ruf paid a visit to Babakan-Kempek Islamic Boarding School.

These Islamic boarding schools are generally belong to NU. Thus, the Jokowi-Ma'ruf victory is parallel with the PKB victory as the party supporting this pairing candidate. The coat-tail effect occurs in this Regency. It also happens in Cirebon, although there are differences in the number of seats obtained. Both PDIP and Gerindra each obtained 6 seats, but Gerindra won 29,831 votes, while PDIP 28,996 votes.

The factor that made the pairing candidate number 01 Joko Widodo - Ma'ruf Amin won in Cirebon was because Cirebon was the PDIP voter gainer, volunteers supporting Jokowi made calls and movements to support the pairing candidate number 01, the movement conducted by providing political awareness to residents in Cirebon via door to door method. Apart from that, another factor that made the pairing candidate number 01 win in Cirebon was due to the considerable support from the Nahdliyyin community in Cirebon. Not only support from Nahdliyyin but also support from a number of clerics and Islamic boarding schools, one of which is Buntet Islamic Boarding School, these supports are provided not only for political considerations, but also for consideration of national and ideological issues that underlie it, so these supports are very strong.

Other factors that cause the pairing candidate number 01 Joko Widodo - Ma'ruf Amin win the 2019 presidential election in Cirebon including, among others, Jokowi's performance in his previous presidential period which was considered satisfactory, because the performance factor's perception is very important and is an electoral variable and incumbents who are perceived as successful will easily get re-elected.

The factor that made Gerindra Party dominate in the legislative elections in Cirebon, namely because Gerindra created a program called Gerindrapreneur, which is an innovative campaign tool, it is in the form of an entrepreneurial movement throughout the country. The chairman of Gerindra Regional Representatives (DPC) in Cirebon also targeted to win 6 seats in Cirebon Local Legislative Council (DPRD) from 3 electoral districts, this is because Gerindra's electability trend is on the rise.

4. Southern Coastal Region

The North and South Coast areas are controlled by candidate 01 and their supporting parties. The city of Banjar itself is located in a strategic area, especially in the economic sector. Therefore, the issue which may be of interest to the people of Banjar is the issue of economic improvement. Of course, in this case, is how the government going to boost the national economy in general, and for Banjar in particular. Therefore, the candidates' orientation whom focused on this problem will be seen more appealing to the public to vote for them in the election. In other words, prospective leaders who seek to carry out development to boost the economy, especially development related to logistic-based connectivity between regions.

Golkar's victory in Banjar in the 2019 legislative election is a repetition from the 2014 legislative election, which saw that Golkar still won 6 votes. Regarding this, there were two factors that contributed to this victory, namely that the people of Banjar were quite satisfied with the DPRD's work performance, and also Banjar was the basis for the Golkar party.

Based on the composition above, it can be seen that in Pangandaran Regency the pairing candidate 01 is superior to the pairing candidate 02, this is directly proportional to the results of the election for Legislative members in Pangandaran Regency, where supporting parties' coalition for candidate 01 obtained 80% of the seats in the DPRD Pangandaran while coalition for candidate 02 only got 20%. Their success in obtaining more Legislative seats because the composition of voters in Pangandaran Regency is dominated by 2 major parties, PDIP and Golkar and also 2 supporting parties, PKB and PPP. If we look at the composition of the character of the voters in Pangandaran

Regency, which majority is controlled by PDIP supporters, it is clear that their character is more towards a strong militancy supported by the party's solidity which tends to put everything about the Party above anything else. Cadres and most of the Party's sympathizers are fishermen and farmers, which in fact are the two most populous communities in Pangandaran Regency.

Furthermore, support for candidate 01 came from PKB and PPP, both of these parties were mostly supported by Nahdhiyin or (NU) who have quite significant numbers in Pangandaran Regency and then other support came from Millennials through PSI Party and from Perindo traders, so with such great supports the pairing candidate 01 was able to outperform candidate 02 in Pangandaran Regency as well as the composition in the Legislative which was dominated by the parties supporting pairing candidate 01. This is in line with the conditions and situations as well as the voters' character in Pangandaran Regency, which tends to be more towards a group trust, so that if a group has significant members and its leaders support one of the candidates, all members of the group will follow the leaders' policy line. This is why the coalition for pairing candidate 01 be able to catch up and obtain more votes than candidate 02 and control the parliament (DPRD Pangandaran Regency).

The political parties' role at the local level will determine whether the majority of legislative seats can be obtained or not. People understands a political party as an organized group of people whose goal is to gain and maintain power legally and peacefully. This means that parties have an obligation to keep a peaceful and legal election. Meanwhile, Heywood (2012) understands political parties as political machines organized to win elections and gain governmental power. The political parties' role as a liaison between the people and the government is stated by Budiardo (1985), while Amal (1996) states that political parties act as a representative instrument and a means to ensure regular government changes.

3. CONCLUSION

- a. The winning factor for the Presidential / Vice Presidential candidate 01 was due to the issues orientation, especially the economy issues and party identification, while candidate 02 won because of religious issues and party identification. Thus, generally voters for candidate 01 are more concerned with economic programs than on religious issues, the choice based on a sociological approach is more dominant in voters for candidate 02. The party identification is clearly seen in voters for both candidates 01 and 02, this can be seen from the voter gainer that always contribute to the victory of the party in the legislative elections.
- b. The political parties' winning factor in legislative elections is due to the strength of the supporting parties' local elites. Local elites have succeeded in building voter's sympathy for their parties, so that their votes for every elections will not change.
- c. In relation to the coat-tail effect, the researchers saw that if a coat-tail effect found on an area, it is simply just a coincidence. The choice of parties in legislative elections, is not because of the presidential / vice presidential candidates, but because of the identifications that the local elites have successfully built. The data shows, if candidate 02 wins, the legislature will be controlled by the parties that support candidate 02, but on the other hand, if candidate 01 wins, the legislature will not necessarily be controlled by the parties that support candidate 01.

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